

and that he wanted to cooperate with the Intelligence Committee inquiry. He also sensibly asked CIA personnel to review internal CIA records and get a sense of what this investigation could be expected to find.

The review got off to a solid start. It began to identify some of the same mistakes and misrepresentations that are identified in our committee's report. Unfortunately, it does not appear that this review ever made it to the Director's desk. Instead, publicly available documents made it clear this review was quietly terminated by CIA attorneys who thought it was moving too fast.

Earlier this year the Agency conducted an unprecedented and secret search of Senate files in an effort to find out whether the committee had obtained copies of the Panetta review. After it was found that committee investigators had in fact obtained the Panetta review, the CIA actually attempted to file unsupported criminal allegations against Senate staff members. After the search was publicly revealed by the press, the CIA's own spokesperson acknowledged in *USA Today* that the search had taken place and it had been done because the CIA was looking to see if our investigators had found a document the CIA didn't want the Congress to have. Incredibly, that same week CIA Director John Brennan told reporter Andrea Mitchell of NBC that the CIA had not spied on Senate files and that "nothing could be further from the truth."

I think this incident and the difference between what was said to Andrea Mitchell and what the Agency's own people said to *USA Today* reflects once again what I call an alarming culture of misinformation. Instead of acknowledging the serious organizational problems that are laid out in this report, the Agency's leadership seems inclined to try to sweep them under the rug. This means organizational problems aren't going to be fixed unless they are laid out publicly, and there is also a danger that other countries or even future administrations might be tempted to use torture if they don't have all the facts about the CIA's experience. That is why the release today is so important.

In concluding, I thank all of the staff who have put in hours and hours and nights and weekends and time away from their families to get this investigation completed. I praise Chair FEINSTEIN and our former Chair Senator ROCKEFELLER, who together were resolute in pushing for this kind of congressional oversight.

TRIBUTE TO MARK UDALL

Mr. WYDEN. I close with just a word about our friend and colleague Senator MARK UDALL of Colorado. I have had the pleasure of serving with Senator UDALL on the Intelligence Committee and have admired his commitment to American security and core American

values. Many in the Senate would not know this because all of those intelligence meetings are behind closed doors, but MARK UDALL is not a Senator who is afraid to stand alone. He is not afraid to fight for what he believes in. When the fight to declassify this report got bumpy—and let me tell you it did a lot of times. I think some of you heard this weekend we had an eleventh-hour objection to the report getting out. People asked me what I thought, and I said it was not particularly surprising because there were objections practically every hour on the hour for months and months. Yet when the fight to declassify the report got very difficult, some people said: This is going to get buried forever. That is what happens when you try to get accountability and transparency. Senator MARK UDALL made it clear that wasn't going to be allowed to happen on MARK UDALL's watch.

I am going to wrap up by saying to Senator UDALL, I remember when we started this battle together and we got a handful of votes, sometimes like 13 to 2 or whatever. We thought it was going to be a long time before there was reform. We went from those days to eventually getting up to 15 or 20 votes. Colleagues, today, to a great extent because of Senator UDALL, in the last vote for real surveillance reform, we were up to 58 votes—58 votes for real surveillance reform. That, to a great extent, is possible because of the extraordinary service of my good friend Senator MARK UDALL from Colorado. We westerners always make sure we stay in touch, and you know that is going to be the case with this particular friend from the West, a wonderful Senator, Mr. MARK UDALL.

With that, I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado.

SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE STUDY OF THE CIA'S DETENTION AND INTERROGATION PROGRAM

Mr. UDALL of Colorado. Mr. President, today is a historic day, as Senator WYDEN made clear, Senator FEINSTEIN, Senator ROCKEFELLER, and many other Senators to follow.

Before I talk about my involvement in the efforts that were put forth to reach this day, I want to say to Senator WYDEN, my good friend, you honor me with those comments. I want to acknowledge that when you are in a fight, it matters whom you are in the fight with. It has been my privilege and honor to fight on the side of transparency, on the side of protecting the Bill of Rights, and this has been a righteous cause. We are going to continue to work to find the right balance between privacy and security. As Ben Franklin famously implied, we can have both, but we don't end up with both if we set aside the Bill of Rights and those fundamental principles that are enshrined into the Bill of Rights. It

has been my privilege to fight alongside you, and I wish you all the best. Yes, we westerners will stay in touch.

Turning back to the matter at hand, today, almost 6 years after the Senate Intelligence Committee voted to conduct a study of the CIA's detention and interrogation program and nearly 2 years after approving the report, the American people will finally know the truth about a very dark chapter in our Nation's history.

I had two goals at the beginning of this long process, and I still hold those two goals today. First, I have been committed to correcting the public record on the CIA's multiple misrepresentations to the American people, to other agencies, the executive branch, the White House, and to Congress.

Second, my goal has been to ensure that the truth comes out about the terrible acts committed in the name of the American people. Why? Because I want this to be our way of going forward, that neither the CIA nor any future administration repeats the grievous mistakes this important oversight work reveals.

This has been a careful and very deliberative process. We have compiled, drafted, redacted, and now released this report. It has been much harder than it needed to be. Senator WYDEN and many others pointed it out.

It brings no joy to discuss the CIA's brutal and appalling use of torture or the unprecedented actions that some in the intelligence community and the administration have taken in order to cover up the truth. By releasing the Intelligence Committee's landmark report, we affirm that we are a nation that does not hide from its past but learns from it. An honest examination of our shortcomings is not a sign of weakness but of the strength of our great Republic.

We have made significant progress since the CIA first delivered its heavily—underline "heavily"—redacted version of the executive summary to the committee in August. The report we released today cuts through the fog the CIA's redactions created and will give the American people a candid, brutal, and coherent account of the CIA's torture program.

As the chairman said earlier today, even when public tensions were high, our committee continued to work behind the scenes to successfully whittle down 400 instances of unnecessary redactions to just a few. We didn't make all the progress we wanted, and the redaction process was filled with unwarranted and completely unnecessary obstacles, but all told, after reviewing the final version, I believe our landmark report accomplishes the goals I laid out at the outset and tells the story that needs to be told. It also represents a significant and essential step toward restoring faith in the crucial role of Congress to conduct oversight of the intelligence community. Congressional oversight is important to all of government's activities, but it

is especially important to those parts of government that operate in secret, as the Church committee discovered decades ago.

The challenges the Church committee confronted four decades ago persists today—namely, how to ensure that those government actions which are necessarily conducted in secret are nonetheless conducted within the confines of the law.

The release of this executive summary is testament to the power of effective oversight and the determination of Chairman FEINSTEIN and members of the committee to doggedly beat back obstacle after obstacle in order to reveal the truth to the American people. I have much more to say about these obstacles and about the critical importance of reforming an agency that refuses to even acknowledge what it has done. I will deliver those remarks soon. For now, I wish to congratulate the chairman and her staff on this very important achievement.

The document we are finally releasing today is the definitive history of what happened in the CIA's detention and interrogation program. We have always been a forward-looking nation, but to be so, we must be mindful of our own history. That is what this study is all about. That is why I have no doubt that we will emerge from this dark episode with our democracy strengthened and our future made even brighter.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LEAHY. I see the distinguished senior Senator from Texas on the floor seeking recognition. I have been told to come here at 3:30 p.m., but obviously I yield to my friend from Texas and ask unanimous consent that when he completes his remarks I be recognized.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Texas.

Mr. CORNYN. I thank my friend from Vermont. All of this got pushed back a little bit with the laudatory speeches for our retiring colleague from Nebraska. We are backed up a little bit, but I won't be long.

I have to say that I came to the floor when the Senators from Oregon and Colorado were talking about Senator FEINSTEIN's decision to release this report. I get it that different people see the same subject matter sometimes through a different lens, but I can't think of any more reckless or irresponsible thing to do to our brave men and women who fight in our military, who have fought our wars for the last 13 years, and the intelligence community that has worked while risking their lives to keep us safe.

We all remember what happened on 9/11/2001, but apparently with time our memories have faded. What we do know for a fact is we would not have avoided another attack on our own soil if it were not for the dedication and the patriotism of men and women in our intelligence community who were oper-

ating under color of law. In other words, this isn't just something they decided to cook up; this was something that was vetted at the highest levels of the Justice Department and the Department of Defense.

We had hearing upon hearing on these various enhanced interrogation techniques. There were disagreements, but we do know they were effective in gleaned intelligence that helped keep Americans safer. That is not just me saying that. Ask Leon Panetta, the immediate past Director of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Secretary of the Department of Defense—a proud Democrat but also a patriot in his own right. Ask John Brennan, President Obama's choice to be the current CIA Director. He said virtually the same thing.

So much of this should have proven to be unnecessary after two separate U.S. attorneys conducted criminal investigations. There was one done earlier and then one done later when Attorney General Eric Holder reopened the investigation. These men and women who risk their lives to do what their government asks them to do to keep us safe were subjected to at least two Justice Department investigations, and obviously no decision to proceed with any kind of criminal charges was decided upon.

I think you have to wonder about the timing of this in a lameduck session where we have basically three items of business to do before we break for the Christmas holidays and a new Congress. It is clear that this report was pushed out in an attempt to make a political statement, but I have to tell you that I think it is a reckless act, and it is a disservice not only to the men and women who risked their lives but also to the American people who should expect more of us.

This was not a bipartisan Senate Intelligence Committee report. Once Republicans on the Senate Intelligence Committee figured out what was happening, they simply disassociated themselves from it. This is purely a partisan report. There are absolutely no recommendations made for any reforms in this report. It was simply done to embarrass and to hold up our brave men and women who serve our country and the intelligence community to ridicule, and it is a shame.

TRIBUTE TO RALPH HALL

Mr. CORNYN. I came to the floor to talk about another topic, and that is about my friend and fellow Texan Congressman RALPH HALL, who at the end of this year will be retiring from representing Texas's Fourth District in the House of Representatives for more than three decades. It is hard to speak to the entirety of RALPH's 34 years in Congress in just a few minutes. I will try. I would be remiss if I didn't mention some of his greatest hits, so to speak.

Let me begin with what I admire most about RALPH HALL and why he is

so beloved back home in Texas. Why would they return him election after election over these many years?

First, RALPH is someone whom a lot of Texans look up to as a role model. He is a happy warrior. Having proudly served this country and Texas for over 50 years, he is a man of extraordinary character and remarkable integrity.

Thinking about RALPH, the first thing that comes to mind is his service to others, from his military service to being the oldest and among the longest serving Members of Congress. RALPH has lived a life of service to others and leaves behind a considerable legacy—one that will be long remembered and celebrated by people in my State and I believe the people of the United States too.

Those who know RALPH know he is the man who, wherever he goes—whether it is back home or here in Washington—before leaving a room, he will have hugged or shaken the hand of every person in the room, not to mention telling a few bad jokes and leaving everybody laughing in the process. He is a man who truly cares about others, and that is evident by the way he arranged his desk in his Washington office. He said one of his favorite things about his office is the view. Even so, he arranged his desk with his back to the window so others could sit and enjoy the view. This speaks to the kind of man he is, always putting other people first.

As I said, he is also well known for his excellent sense of humor and an occasional bad joke. He is a great storyteller and raconteur. He does have some pretty good stories to tell, though, from selling cigarettes to the famous outlaws Bonnie and Clyde, to putting President Reagan on hold, to his interesting encounters and friendships with Mickey Mantle, Muhammad Ali, Ted Williams, Neil Armstrong, John Glenn, among others. There are his many stories about flying Hellcat fighter aircraft in the U.S. Army during World War II.

RALPH has led a full and exciting life. During his time in Congress, he has not just been the hometown Congressman from Rockwall, TX; he has been the hometown Congressman to everyone he has encountered. It doesn't matter who you are—RALPH just naturally wants to try to find out how he can be helpful to you, from the person he met on the street, to the colleagues in the Texas delegation, to the President of the United States. That is just the way he is.

Knowing RALPH, he probably has something up his sleeve that he is not telling us about what he is going to do after he leaves Congress next month. In fact, when asked about his plans after leaving Congress, RALPH mentioned he would probably go to work at Walmart because he has to have a job.

RALPH has always got to have something to do. But it goes to show that no matter what he does next, he will not be slowing down anytime soon.